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VOL. 2



CALGARY, SEPT. 12, 1918

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No. 20

#### THE MESSAGE OF CANADA'S DEAD

Speak, sons of Canada, in accents clear,  
 Ye daughters, too, that all the world  
 may hear--

Fling forth the message, bear it far  
 and wide:  
 The hour has struck. Truth shall  
 not be denied.

From Flanders' fields, hark, how the  
 echoes ring:  
 What is the note and portent that  
 they bring?  
 Our heroes, dead, still speak and this  
 proclaim--  
 Guard thou the Right, else we have  
 died in vain.

Let Church and State, the peasant  
 and the peer  
 Mark well the eternal mandate.  
 Rulers, hear!  
 Man's onward, upward march brooks  
 no delay  
 And Freedom's spirit never turned to  
 clay.

List to this message from the men  
 who died.  
 Those truths we bled for here and now  
 inscribe--  
 Not on cold marble slabs or tombs alone  
 But in Man's Parliament, the Nation's  
 Home.

No grey drab monuments be ours to-  
 day.  
 'Twould mock our spirits, flash the  
 living ray  
 Of richer, fuller life for one and all.  
 Thus "Carry on" till you receive "The  
 Call."

So that fair children of the days to be  
 May learn our sacrifice had made men  
 free  
 Still shine on them, like beacon light  
 to guide--  
 This is your mission, for this we died.  
 —S. Horace Farquhar.

#### C.P.R. CASH SURPLUS

In answer to a correspondent, the Grain Growers' Guide states the last annual statement of the C.P.R. shows that on December 31st, 1917, the accumulated cash surplus, after provision had been made for dividends, betterments, and all other purposes in connection with the whole system, amounted to \$127,275,369. This sum is described in the report as "Surplus revenue from operation."

#### THE YANKEE SENSE OF HUMOUR

An American "Doughboy" after a spell of 30 days in the trenches without change of clothing, writes home that "the cooties" are their dearest and closest friends, and that he knows now why the pictures of Napoleon always show him with his hand inside his shirt.

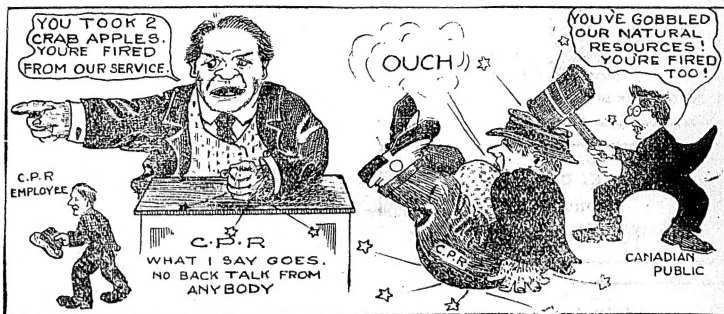
#### "WATCHMAN, WHAT OF THE NIGHT?"

"It's a stormy sunset, gold splashed with gore showing through the gaps in surging black clouds of misery. As the sable curtain of night hides the hideous scene from view, let us keep busy at the work of reconstruction, so that the rising curtain may to-morrow reveal a new world in which those who plant shall reap, those who build inhabit, those who weave also wear; in which every man shall sit in peace upon his own verandah, and the wolf of want shall not make him afraid to call his soul his own."

—F. J. DIXON, M.L.A.,  
 Winnipeg.

Read Dr. Bland's "Labor's Great Day" on page 11 in this issue.

#### THE LOGICAL REPLY!



The C.P.R. got 25,000,000 acres of land for the construction of the line, also numerous grants since of farm, fruit and coal lands. They still have 7,000,000 acres. If it was necessary to discharge a man from the employ of the C.P.R. for stealing two crab apples as was recently done in Calgary, even-handed justice would demand from the C.P.R. restitution of the people's possessions above mentioned or discharge from the service of Canada.

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## CURRENT HISTORY

## SIFTON FRERES ET BEAUX-FRERES

During the past week the people of Calgary have been treated to a spectacle as singularly strange as it is unedifying. The dog days are still with us so far as Editorial copy is concerned and so our two great Editorial strategists discuss the great question of the hour—the morals of the Siftons. Well—there is one thing certain—it's a big question—and possibly an open one.

There is no cause for surprise that matter of this kind should adorn the pages of the "Canadian". Mr. Thompson is a thorough believer in the strategy of the counter-offensive. He has upon occasions defended the Hon. Robt. Rogers—and to attack Messrs. Sifton Freres is perhaps one of the better methods of such defence—it draws attention away from the past of Rogers, the gentleman who for so long occupied the position in public opinion now held by the brothers Sifton.

The case of the "Albertan" is different. Mr. Davidson occupies a place of real distinction in Alberta journalism. He has courage, originality and independence. He has kept his paper in a unique position—To-day, editorially, it commands and deserves the highest commendation. He is the one man we might reasonably expect to avoid the task he is now attempting. It reminds us of the small boy who asked his mother if God made flies and when the good woman answered in the affirmative, said: "Well, it seems trifling work for the Almighty." Defending Sifton is a small job for Mr. Davidson.

## Hard Task for a Wise Man

Needless to say, whenever a good man attempts such a task he resorts to arguments that are too feeble for words. The familiar trick has been tried before. Mr. Davidson erects a man of straw and then proceeds to tear him down. He says: "Nothing has ever been proved against Sifton Brothers. It is true their wives' second cousin's nephews have got rich but, ishka bibble, (we should worry) —let them flourish!"

## Consider the Facts

Let us examine the facts. We grant that it has never been said that Arthur Sifton robbed a bank or that Clifford swiped the gold of the Canadian mint. Let us also point out that so far as the records show, Robt. Rogers was never guilty of any similar offence. Come closer home. The Albertan has for many years been opposed to Cross. We defy the Albertan to prove that Cross was ever guilty of any particular crime except

that of loyalty to his party beyond compare. Yet the Albertan opposed him vigorously for what it thought just cause and for pretty much the same reason that a good many others to-day oppose the Sifton family.

## Democracy Gone Wrong

The Albertan has democratic traditions and feelings. It believes that a man should be paid for what he does. It does not believe in vast fortunes accumulated by some because others did not get their due. And yet Sifton (Clifford) started poor—worked on a salary of \$7,000 or \$10,000 a year—saved on it in a few years many millions—and retired a the owner of two political parties. Is it not apparent that he was a man of singular genius for the accumulation of wealth—or wonderfully fortunate in his investments, or spending too much time on his private affairs when he should have been serving the state; or else for a man of such capacious intellect he was getting in the service of the state a salary that was contemptibly low.

We do not take exception to a man acquiring wealth. We think, however, he should not do it while working for the Government on a salary. What would the world have thought if Gladstone or John Bright had blossomed forth in their later years as millionaires? Or if Fielding or Laurier entered that class, or Woodrow Wilson retired with a great fortune accumulated during his period of office? The fact is, Mr. and Mistress Albertan, the world is sick of that sort of thing. There is shrewd instinct in the minds of the people which says: No, no; it's all wrong. We grant without reservation that the Siftons' may do it and be as blameless as Caesar's wife—but others seeing them may try to do likewise and lacking their singular honesty of purpose and love of country might fail and missing all their trembling footsteps, stray. It's the force of bad example in the thing we fear—more even than the thing itself.

## Your Wife's Relations

To all this the Albertan says: "But it's only a wife's sister's husband's step-aunt, by adoption, that made the money." The thing is catching—also, may we add, it is malignant, and worse—it is incurable. That is what we fear about it. God grant that when such genius for acquiring wealth exists in a family, the race may soon die out.

"A kingly race may soon die out, A lordly line may leave no heirs; Kind Providence puts no guards about Her pewter plate and wooden wares."

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## Gets Into the Corporations, Too

Not only is this family idea a real family affair, but any corporation controlled by Clifford gains the same peculiar fecundity of touch. The Calgary Gas Co., for instance, controlled by Sifton, would pay taxes to Calgary were it not for the singular fact that it loses money. But it loses money by virtue of the fact that the gas is sold to it by another corporation controlled by Sifton which makes enough profit to permit Mr. Sifton to take from every man, woman and child in the City of Calgary, approximately \$1.00 per year. Does the Albertan approve of letting a man control the political parties of Canada whose unfettered genius permits him to take that sum every year while avoiding by means perfectly legal, yet clearly unjust, any contribution to the City's revenues? And its franchise, Mr. Albertan—is it perpetual or terminable? How came that joker there? By sheer accident, by the blow of chance did it slip in, or was the chance directed? When chance favors an individual to such an extent—and gives such marvellous favors—surely we must be on our guard and double guard at that. But the point is, does the Albertan defend these things? Time will tell!

### See Mr. Arthur L. S.

As for Mr. Arthur Sifton—he, too, is wealthy. We hold not that against him. We can recall no single instance of any statesman of Britain or Canada worthy of the name who made a fortune out of politics but Arthur L. may provide the one distinguished example. We hold, however, that there are other things which cannot be counted to his favor. In the Provincial election he refused to disfranchise the aliens—held the idea up to contempt and ridicule and then joined a government which had violated every canon of decency in the most damnable franchise of history. He pretended friendship for Laurier and condemned Borden, then played traitor to Laurier and allied himself with Borden. He has shown his contempt of the people who elected him and has been the prime mover in every act of defiance against the Canadian people for which this government has been responsible. Arthur L. Sifton bolted for office—he got it. He has not since leaving this Province, one single action to his credit. He is the Machiavelian type of statesman with many of the concepts and ideas of Rogers, but lacking that gentleman's kindness of spirit and gentlemanly instincts. And to crown all he has in his office retained the worst dregs of the party system—witness the appointment of Harmer—the Customs officer at Montreal—and sundry others.

The singular thing is the accuracy of popular valuations. People who read the Albertan's apotheosis to Sifton, smile and

wonder and pass on but they have a shrewd idea of valuations all the same and the Sifton family must eventually be weighed in the balance and found to be precisely what they are, and in that day, God help them! But on that day shall dawn a clearer day for Canada. We have had enough of the Sifton type—enough and to spare. They are the last of their race. We make progress slowly for the march of the human mind is slow—but egotism must give place to altruism and the brighter day is coming—  
“For while the tired waves vainly breaking  
Seem here no painful inch to gain,  
Far back through creeks and inlets making  
Comes silent, flooding in the main.”

—THE WANDERER.

## BRITISH LABOR'S WAR AIMS

In a very vigorous speech Mr. Arthur Henderson has dispelled the misconception the press has endeavored to create in the minds of the British people by false statements as to the attitude of the Labor Party in seeking a prospective international Socialist conference. “There was”, said Mr. Henderson, “no intention of negotiating peace or of taking any decisions. A conference would have helped to clear away misunderstandings and misconceptions, and would have helped to strengthen the will for peace in enemy countries. They could have shown the peoples of the Central Powers how they were being misled and deceived by their rulers. It would have provided an opportunity to convince them that the Allies did not wish to pursue a policy of extermination, or seek to isolate them and crush their economic life.” If any great body of enemy people could have been convinced of our good faith, surely there was great value in that and the military effort made would be strengthened by the attitude taken up.

The Arbeiter Zeitung, of Vienna, however, is not so dense on this point as some of our home conservative journals. In a remarkable leading article on July 6th, it stated, “That Henderson and his Labor friends did not stand for a peace at the present moment, because it would bring victory to German Imperialism. The English workers desired peace but for them the terms of the Treaty of Peace is more important than the date on which it is concluded. A peace to-day would mean a victory for Imperialism and Militarism and defeat for Democracy. For this reason the English working-class must demand that the war be carried on until Germany can be compelled to agree not to increase its power in the East and in the West, and to make adequate provision for future universal disarmament. Not until then will the English workers exert any pressure in the direction of peace.”

—THE NEW STATESMAN.

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## THE VICTORY LOAN

By Alex. Ross, M.L.A.



Canada is about to launch her third big Victory Loan for an indefinite amount, writes R. E. Gosnell, who appears to be the publicity agent for the Minister of Finance. Mr. Gosnell's campaign literature is pleasing to read, but he evidently finds a great deal of difficulty in defending the government's policy of financing the war. Canada has not reached the limit of her borrowing powers, he avers,—but not a word about how the debt will be repaid. His statement that this is Canada's third big Victory Loan, is not correct; he evidently does not consider the first two domestic loans of ninety-seven million each as big loans,—to be accurate, this is Canada's fifth domestic loan.

The Government's borrowings from the people of Canada since the beginning of the war now total seven hundred and fifty million or one hundred dollars per capita. Gosnell is a cheerful pessimist. He fully expects another Victory Loan after the one about to be launched, which will send our national debt soaring from one billion two hundred million, up to two billion. Canada's national debt before the war was three hundred and thirty-six million, after the war it will be at least two billion—two hundred and fifty dollars per capita, or reducing it to the average family of five, twelve hundred and fifty dollars per family. The interest on the national debt of two billion at  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. will be one hundred and ten million per year. That is the annual amount to be raised to pay interest on the national debt alone. What about the liabilities? Besides the interest on the national debt, one hundred million will have to be raised for pensions, with an additional one hundred and forty million to meet the expenditure in the consolidated fund, or the administration expenses.

Last, but not least, comes the repayment of the principal of the domestic loans, these bonds will cover a period of twenty years. One-twentieth of two billion will have to be set aside to retire these bonds, which adds another one hundred million per year. The annual revenues required to meet the liabilities in 1920 will then be one hundred and ten million interest; one hundred million pensions; one hundred and forty million

expenses of Government administration (based on the last four years' expenditure) one hundred million for retiring war bonds—a total of four hundred and fifty million per year; equal to a per capita of fifty-six dollars or two hundred and eighty dollars per family per year. There are also two other rather expensive institutions—the Provincial Legislature's and Municipal Council's—that have to be provided with funds from taxes. A comparison may be interesting:—Germany's national debt is supposed to be thirty billion, five hundred dollars per capita, or two thousand five hundred dollars per family.

Financial experts at Ottawa met the increasing expenditures last year by what they term war taxation. Special taxes brought a revenue of seventy-six million dollars. The total revenue for last year including the special taxes, brought two hundred and sixty-one million, or one hundred and eighty-nine million less than will be required for 1920. The revenues derived last year from special taxes came almost exclusively from a tax on the necessities of life. This is one reason for the increasing cost of living. It would appear by a casual glance at the revenues for the last year that the Government had entered into partnership with big business for the purpose of collecting taxes from the mass to meet the war expenditures. Business, judging by the small amount paid in taxes, claims the privilege of the senior partner.

The tax on profits last year brought twenty-one million dollars, and a business capitalized at fifty thousand or less was exempt. A graduated tax on profits was imposed on all business capitalized at fifty thousand or over, and expert accountants claim that the tax would represent about one-tenth of the profits made during the last year, or two hundred and ten million. Then we must not forget that probably one-third of the business done in Canada is done by business institutions capitalized at less than fifty thousand, bringing the total taxable profits up to three hundred million dollars. Taxable profits are profits in excess of seven per cent. The senior partner, business made three hundred million for the manufacture and distribution of the necessities of life and returned twenty-one million to the junior partner, the Government. These enormous profits not only explain the increased cost of living but also explains why the Government will not fix prices. To fix prices would break up the partnership and necessitate exploring other avenues for raising the revenues of the state.

The people are evidently satisfied with this ingenious financial arrangement and why should the Government change it?

If the three hundred million taxable profits had been conscripted the same as the man who fights, another Victory Loan would not be necessary. Instead, however, of conscripting the profits we invite the profiteer to re-invest his ill-gotten gains in the Victory Loan, bearing  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. interest, and exempt from taxation.

Mr. Gosnell attempts to explain why Victory Bonds are exempt from taxation. He says: "Loaning money to a Government is strictly a matter of business, in war time or in peace time. Labor demands more wages, why shouldn't capital demand bigger returns?"

Exemption from taxation is equivalent to a higher rate of interest, and a high rate of interest is necessary to attract capital. We always suspected capital was unpatriotic. The comparison he makes between the demands of labor for increased wages, and that of capital for an increased rate of interest is stupid. The man with the most elementary knowledge of economics would distinguish between the person who demands an increased wage to meet the increasing demands on his exchequer and the man who demands a high rate of interest before he re-invests his profits; more particularly profits made through the exigencies of war. Mr. Gosnell is not paid for pointing these things out.

Another reason advanced by the publicity agent for the tax exemption of Victory Bonds is that capital must know what the returns will be before it enters into a contract. Again the purchaser of Victory Bonds occupies a unique position compared with the man who is fighting for victory. Capital must know how much there is in it before an investment is made. What would the publicity agent say if a soldier demanded that the Government guarantee his safe return before he entered into a contract to go overseas? Life is evidently not so important as capital—the man of military age is compelled to fight without knowing what his return will be, while the man who has profits to invest in Victory Loans, demands returns and the junior partner agrees.

How will the annual budget of four hundred and sixty million dollars be met after the war? Mr. Gosnell claims that all taxes are paid from profits, obviously then, if his statement is correct, we must create more profits to pay the taxes. Labor will have to be content with less wages in order to allow more profits to be made. The whole nation will become imbued with but one desire to pay its debt.

To be confronted with an annual debt of four hundred and fifty million will be a nice reception to the man who has given four or five of the best years of his life in defence of the nation; perhaps he will refuse to both fight and pay. The partnership between the Government and business to create profits to pay taxes has condemned us to pay toll to the profiteer for the rest of our lives; there is but one thing to do, and that is—dissolve the partnership.

Read our Ottawa Letter—page 7!



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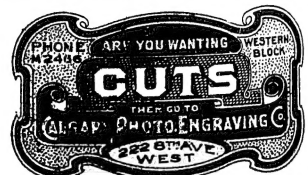
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*There is no wealth but life. That country is the richest which nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy human beings.* — Ruskin.

**KEEP AT IT!** "If at first you don't succeed, try, try again," is a very good motto. It should be adopted by the people of Canada in respect to the conscription of wealth. Although this principle was defeated at the last election we must not stop the agitation. We must remember that the last election like other elections was outstanding in its confusion of the issues, and people were called upon falsely to vote for the Government or prove their disloyalty by voting against it. The success of this method of campaigning depends on one thing, namely, the ignorance of the people, however, it was successful in defeating conscription of wealth.

The conscription of wealth is still a live issue, it must come up again. The war has yet to be paid for, and the disabled soldiers, and the dependents of those who have fallen must be adequately cared for after the war. If this is to be done, and it must, then the wealth of the profiteer must be tapped. There is no other means of meeting our obligations except the one alternative of placing the burden of war debt on the backs of the workers and incidentally upon the returned soldiers and soldiers' dependents.

In view of this, conscription of wealth must be kept before the public mind; it must be a slogan in next election; we must keep at it until it is achieved. We ask our readers to keep on **thinking** conscription of wealth, and then vote for it, and don't be blinded again by self-seeking political patriotism. True patriotism will conscript the wealth for the true patriots.

### BARON SHAUGHNESSY SEES IT COMING

Government ownership of all great industries is inevitable. Capitalism has

reached that point in its development when a private company can not be permitted to monopolize a public necessity for personal gain. This injustice is becoming evident even to those who benefit by it. Baron Shaughnessy has publicly given utterance to his willingness for the Government to take over the C.P.R.

Now, the Baron's willingness or unwillingness should not be considered in the face of the public interest, but it is significant that Baron Shaughnessy should see the necessity of Government ownership of railways even before the Government itself sees it, not to speak of the people of Canada who have financed this and all other lines.

Complete ownership of railways is the first step in the processes of changing from individual to collective ownership, next will follow the banks and the manufacturing of all farm machinery and so on until all industries are conducted in the interests of the state.

The present Government does not possess the ability to guide the affairs of Canada during the coming period of transformation. It lacks vision as well as moral courage; its life depends upon maintaining the present order of things. "New times demand new measures and new men." We must have a government composed of men who are fearlessly looking forward to the new dawn, instead of those who timidly turn their faces toward the past. A Government with the vision of leadership would have nationalized the C.P.R. long before even Baron Shaughnessy saw the need for such action. Its permitting of such private profiteering in times like these is a demonstration of its weakness.

\* \* \*

### WAR AND PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

Mr. J. C. Watters, President of the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress, startled his audience when speaking in Calgary when he quoted figures showing the cost of shell manufacturing in contrast with the figure actually paid for shells. The speaker said that shells could be manufactured in Canada at \$1.40 while the manufacturers had charged \$5.15 per shell from the British Government. This allows for a handsome donation to some one's election campaign as well as a profit for the manufacturer.

It is interesting to compare the attitude of the common people toward Great Britain, and that of the manu-

facturer. The Canadian worker has taken a hitch in his belt, and gone to hard work without his usual food in order that the people of Britain might have enough. The manufacturer who is the exemplary patriot charges \$3.75 more for every shell than it is worth, which amount will be paid by the British workmen except a change is brought about after the war.

War in Canada has been run on the basis of private enterprise, and the infamy of the profiteer at this time will be a lasting disgrace to the name of Canada. They made shells to defend our line **because** they got \$5.15 each for them, if they could have made a greater profit by making hair-pins they would not have made any shells, and our line would have been at the mercy of the enemy. This is why War material is expensive. It is not produced in the interests of the state, but for private gain, and if a large quantity of any commodity be required a higher profit must be paid for its manufacture than can be made at other things or no manufacturer will touch it. This spirit in the face of the crisis through which we are passing cannot be adequately described. We have no words with which to express our contempt for it.

The only remedy is for the Government to take over all plants necessary to the winning of the War, and to conscript all profits made since the war began. Anything short of this will be an insult to our soldiers, and a disgrace to the name of Canada. Private enterprise in the affairs of war is preposterous.

\* \* \*

### WILL WE GET IT?

The greatest fear on the part of some people today is that will we get what we are fighting for, namely, Democracy. The declaration of war aims by the allied spokesmen stand as the interpretation of what the people want. Canadians and Americans, not to speak of Britishers would not have responded to fight an aggressive war, but they did respond for a great ideal—democracy.

It was the banner of democracy which rallied the Canadians, and a democracy too according to their own understanding of it, and not as interpreted by the representatives of profit and capital. The great danger to the capitalist and politician is that the soldiers will want to gather the fruits of their victory.

The Canadian people **must** be prepared to make good the pledge of our dead heroes. They died for democracy, there can be no doubt about it, and unless we get democracy they have died in vain. It is not likely

that those who have stooped to profit from blood money during the war will welcome industrial democracy after the war, neither can we imagine that government which endorsed the Election Act and abrogated Habeas corpus to rush over each other in their haste to grant political democracy. Therefore, the virtue of the sacrifice made by Canadians in Flanders will depend upon how the Canadian public faces the great possibilities of this hour. Next to the war itself comes this duty, a duty both to the living and the dead. Canada must get the democracy her sons have died for.

Next to making the world safe for democracy comes the problem of making democracy safe for the world

\* \* \*

**A FREE PRESS** There is a popular cry throughout Canada for a free press, untrammelled by those who lust for power and financed outside of private interests. In response to this growing need the Labor Unions of Winnipeg have launched out into the business of journalism, and the Farmers of Ontario now purpose establishing their own press.

In the past the railroads, banks, and manufacturing establishments all had daily or weekly papers which taught the people to impose tariffs upon themselves, to get rid of their natural resources—the heritage of future generations of Canadian children—and to generally impoverish themselves in the interests of a few. The power of the press to achieve these ends was thoroughly appreciated by those most concerned, hence it was money well spent if a manufacturer who wanted a law on the statute books permitting him to impose a tariff, gave a few thousand dollars to a daily paper to preach his pernicious gospel. This we believe is still practiced to such an extent that the masses of the people distrust the press to a very great degree.

But the same power which in the hands of capitalists led to the education of the people in a fake economy may be used with even greater effect in the establishment of democracy. The people therefore must be prepared to pay for their own press if they want the truth to prevail.

It is time for Alberta to follow the Ontario Farmers and the Winnipeg Unions in the establishment of a weekly paper they can truly call their own. An antidote to the misrepresentation of the daily press is necessary, but will not be forthcoming until a few public-spirited people undertake to do it. Who will be first to volunteer for this great public service?

## TAKING ADVANTAGE OF THE UNBORN

We are about to launch another Victory Loan scheme. Those who have made profits out of the war are likely to be the heaviest investors in this scheme, unless it should happen that they can make more profits in some other venture.

An important factor in the Victory Loan appeal is the exemption of the investment from taxation. This is perhaps the most attractive phase of it. The profiteer may invest his blood money, have gilt-edged security, be exempt from taxation and earn the laudable name of patriot for investing.

Canada should have learned by now a lesson in tax exemptions. When the present generation was in the cradle, a visionless Government gave away Canadian lands to railway companies and exempted them from taxation. Now the hard-working farmer who improves the land and the industrial worker in the cities must have their taxes increased to make up for the tax exemption of their exploiters. After having had to gather these bitter fruits of previous blunders we sit dumb while our Government is saddling the next generation with a similar burden which should rightly be borne by those who profit by their investment in the Victory Loan.

The money required to conduct the war must be raised, but this is not the way to do it. It should be raised in precisely the same way that we have raised our army. Canada should rise in protest and demand and obtain conscription of profits to carry on, and "Win the War" with.

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# Our Ottawa Letter

From Our Own Correspondent

## THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND EMPIRE

(Continued from our last issue)



It is sometimes claimed that we have a league of nations in existence to-day but it has no forms of permanence and lacks many of the requisites for the tasks which must face it. The league to be successful needs a definite organization and constitution.

President Wilson and the American people, who wholeheartedly accept his guidance in these matters are willing to go any lengths to make the league effective but in Britain, France and Italy there are powerful cliques of Imperialists and interested parties who cherish a secret detestation and display open indifference to the idea of an international League. British Imperialists, for instance, fight shy of it because they fear that once it was instituted Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa would demand the right to have a separate representation in its councils and exercise a separate vote if need be.

They foresee that the League of Nations means an end of the dream, so dear to the Round Table and other cliques, of a British Empire skillfully centralized in London. The protectionist groups in all countries fear that the growth of a common political organization will be destructive of the bitter nationalist spirit, which is the main buttress of tariff systems and that political co-operation will be merely a prelude to freer economic co-operation. Their suspicions are probably correct as it will be absurd and well nigh impossible for peoples who are working together for a variety of purposes, to treat one another as economic foes but this fact ought to be sufficient incentive to win the support of all progressive minds for the League.

There is an alarming sense of powerful forces working against President Wilson's policy and seeking a settlement which will leave the world after the war an armed camp. Mr. Balfour clings to the secret treaties, which belong to the old order of things. Mr. Hughes, of Australia, who is a most unpopular figure in his own country, preaches exploitative Imperialism and economic war after the war and draws cheerful pictures of the ploughman of the future marching behind his plough with his rifle slung over his shoulder. The armament firms take heart of grace and use their purses to fight a peace which might ruin their trade, regardless of the fact that complete relief from the burden of armaments is the only avenue of escape from bankruptcy for most of the European powers. Here and there however in Europe there have been strong positive declarations in favor of the League, chiefly from General Smuts and Mr. Asquith, while Lord Grey has lately written an admirable little pamphlet in its favour. The Labor Party are strongly committed to it and the relics of the old Liberal party have given it their blessing. In France M. Clemenceau, the Premier has scoffed at the idea, but a strong Parliamentary committee after examining the idea, have pronounced it workable and advisable to

support. The socialists in all, even enemy countries, are its keenest backers.

But officially the support of the British Commonwealth is given in muffled accents. Now it happens that Canada is particularly interested in the evolution of the League of Nations. By reason of our comparative freedom from European prejudices and complications, and the cosmopolitan structure of our population which gives us racial connections with many peoples, we, like the United States are obviously fitted in a peculiar way to be one of the keystones of the arch of the new world order, which all generous and forwardlooking minds now dream of. It would be an opportunity for Canada to retain its ties with the mother land, and yet secure the intellectual autonomy and freer status, which is her crying need. In time it would mean an end of the "organised conspiracy in restraint of trade, called a tariff which hinders our development and destroys our political morale. It provides a certain chance of escape from the burden of a huge standing army, and all the other expenses and corollaries of a militarist regime.

It is true our politicians, press and publicists have given the idea the scantiest of consideration and shunned it as the plague, but such is their invariable attitude towards all new ideas and it should not prevent energetic action by other progressive elements. All over Canada organisations like the Non-Partisan League, the Grain Growers' Associations and the Labor bodies should begin to examine the subject and pass strong resolutions demanding that Parliament and the Government give their official adhesion to the idea. The time has come for the Allies to escape from a bog of shifting aims and changing policies. Whether the war ends in a new competition in armaments or a real settlement, depends on whether the Allies unwaveringly adopt the Wilson policy or continue to make their aims subservient to discredited Imperialist schemes and the changing moods of the struggle. Mr. Wells sums the matter up at the end of one chapter thus: "It becomes more and more plainly a choice between the League of free nations and famished men looting in search of non-existent food amidst the burning ruins of our world. In the end I believe that the common-sense of mankind will prefer a revision of its ideas of Imperialism and nationalism, to the latter alternative."

—BYSTANDER

### ALBERTA FARMER M.P.'s PLEASE NOTE!

There are few men in the United Farmers Movement in Ontario who have a higher conception of the ideals of citizenship than C. W. Gurney, and still fewer men prepared to sacrifice time and effort to advance the interests of the farmers, as he has. Mr. Gurney, speaking at the U.F.O. picnics, said, voters at election times are carried away from important questions by side issues and party cries, also there was "no use sending a farmer to Parliament if he is to be a party heeler, or if he don't know what to say when he gets there. If he doesn't know the rural problem and conditions of the farmer, and if he hasn't backbone enough to stand out for his views we might as well do as we are doing now—send lawyers to represent us."

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Garages are better places than shops to learn, but even there, progress is slow, and the training gained one-sided. Men who know are not anxious to teach those who do not. They can hardly be expected to give away their stock in trade. Anyway the place is not a school. Men are paid to work, not to teach or to learn. A man who enters a garage to learn must be contented to do washing, polishing and cleaning and occasionally pick up a crumb of knowledge about the inside of a car.

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# The Non-Partisan Movement

## THE DECAY OF THE PARTY SYSTEM

By Jas. Weir, M.L.A.



The Cabinet changes recently announced from Edmonton, have a greater significance to Non-Partisans than one would imagine by a cursory reading of the press reports of the incident. That the Liberal Party in Alberta is rapidly reaching disintegration is plainly evident to the most casual observer of the political situation. There are Laurier Liberals and Union Liberals; Cross Liberals and Stewart Liberals; Oliver Liberals and at least one New Liberal; and many who regard with deep concern the future of the party hark back with veneration to the days when there were giants among men who acknowledged a loyal and proud allegiance to Brown, Baldwin, Blake, Mowat, McKenzie, Mills, and many more, and murmur with an emotion of despair: "Oh, how has the mighty fallen!"

The Edmonton incident from a legislative point of view, is one which Non-Partisans may view with but a languid interest because at most it betokens only a party family row and so far as improved conditions in the way of governmental policy goes, or as a pledge of the elimination of the Patronage List and the Flesh Pots in our provincial system is concerned, the latter state of the party is worse than the first.

C. W. Cross has been retired. Boyle has been promoted. Enter Hon. A. G. McKay. The sins of C. W. Cross have all been party sins and the injury their committal caused, was confined to Edmonton and more recently perhaps to Edson. The campaigns of 1913 and 1917 were both conducted under the guiding hand of the present Premier, then Minister of Public Works. Cross had little if anything to do with the organization outside the two seats mentioned; so that the election methods of the now ex-Attorney General could hardly have been the cause of his retirement. Let it be said in all airiness that nothing Cross ever pulled off, either personally or by proxy, has a nearer approach to the uncanny methods of West Elgin and North Renfrew, and other Ontario seats of unsavoury memory, than the election of the Minister of Education (now Cross' successor) in his election in Sturgeon in 1917.

In the matter of ability, culture, manners, personality, command of public respect, both of laymen and of the legal profession, there can be no comparison between the genial, open-hearted Attorney-General that was and the Minister of Party Exigency that is.

It is stated and not denied that in his letter asking for the resignation of Mr. Cross, the Premier assigns no reason for the change, other than incompatibility of Temper, and offers his former Minister the post of Agent General at London, an office he promised during the session at the demand of Robert Pearson and others to close up on the grounds of Economy. Here then is the situation—Cross is not good enough to sit at Council with Stewart, Mitchell, Boyle, McKay and the rest of

the Heaven-born at Edmonton, but he is eminently fitted to represent the great Province of Alberta at the seat of the Empire. Oh! Party-Emergency, what cruel jokes are committed in thy name, and what asinine things men do in politics.

If the Premier offered the London post to Cross, as alleged, the wrong man left the Cabinet, for Cross has never been charged with idiocy, political or otherwise. This brings us back to our opening paragraph. The desertion of Sir Wilfrid Laurier last year by Sifton, Calder, Carvell, Martin, Norris, et al, was the beginning of the process of disintegration referred to. The desertion of the Party Press had another and less worthy motive that need not here and now concern us.

The Anti-Quebec and Anti-Catholic Crusade injected into the Federal Campaign in November and December not by the Orange Tories the hereditary enemies of Catholicism, but by its erstwhile friends, and recipients too often of its favors, the Siftons and Rowells and Calders, was the first of the poisoned gas attacks which staggered the old guard of the party and from which it will never recover.

The studied insults heaped upon the stalwarts caused a revulsion of feeling among the rank and file that is ominous for the future, and so far as Alberta is concerned, to use a homely metaphor, the kicking of the sleeping dog, a fool act the wily Sifton refrained from for seven years, bids fair to destroy whatever of cohesion there was left.

The Liberal Party was always more progressive than its ancient rival, and it is only natural that the tide of Independence in Politics which has set in so strongly in Canada, and especially in the West, should find sailing on its crest a predominant number of those who were once proud to call themselves Liberals. and, as the days go by, if we may judge by the signs of the times, this condition will be more and more apparent. These are days of lightning changes and quick decisions and we shall not be surprised to see shortly, the shores of the political seas in Canada and in Alberta littered with the flotsam and jetsam of political ambitions that might have been attained had they followed the traditions of the great-party; fought abuses without and within; destroyed its tyrannies, proclaimed and confessed its rights and principles and supported the forward march of the human race toward the light—and sometimes resisted a progress that was without pity instead of following after the flesh pots of Egypt.

The hour has surely struck when Canadian citizens of presumed intelligence ceased trailing blindly in the wake of partisan leaders and began to seriously consider the public welfare, and to realize that the people were not made for parties but parties for the people, and refuse to sacrifice their patriotism on the altar of party slavery. The division of the people into hostile camps; subjection of the public interest to partisan advantage, the placing of loyalty to party above citizenship and the public welfare, has brought this Dominion already too near the brink of destruction. \* \* \*

One wonders how many appreciate the dangers upon which this country is drifting. The dangerous unrest of the common people; the necessity of calling out the militia to suppress riots; the apathy of the Government in regard to Soldier Settlement; and the forcing of men who

have offered their lives for the country to homestead 80 miles from railroad because speculators hold all available land; the struggle for the bare necessities of life of the wage-earners and especially the widows and dependents of soldiers; the callous, cold-hearted actions of the Government regarding pensions, or those who have the apportioning of them; these and many more problems await solution, and abuses cry to Heaven to be righted, and what have we done to avoid danger,—elected men to office who couldn't tell the British North American Act from Calvin's Confession of Faith, and who continue to follow and bow down before various pie-hunting political gods, and street-corner economists who build political platforms to which we are pledged beforehand to accept as the last word in political wisdom.

\* \* \*

The daily Press announces the visit to Calgary of that brilliant statesman and purveyor of private telegrams for party purposes, Hon. T. A. Crerar. I am prepared to make a bet that Crerar can't tell off-hand, instanter, whether Adam Smith wrote the "Wealth of Nations" or "The Lord's Prayer", or whether Gladstone was an English statesman or an Irish policeman

\* \* \*

When the Dominion Government and the railway companies agreed to divide the freight cost of shipping feed into Southern Alberta they fixed up a schedule that included cattle and sheep and refused the privilege on hay intended to feed horses. With the late rains there is about enough feed in the South for cattle and sheep that can be eaten on the ground and the greatest need is for hay with which to put in next spring's crop. Of course, in the opinion of the Minister of Agriculture and the railway magnates at Ottawa and Montreal, horses can winter on snow-balls, and do the spring work on scenery. With the mental processes of some men who have been made Ministers of great departments by selective draft, others who have become heads of great utilities, it is a marvel that this blessed country is half as good as it is. Through the papers comes the information that the Grain Supervisors' Board are going to have seed wheat in the Province this year. That is better. Judging by its attitude last spring Ponoka nearly came into its own.

—JAS. WEIR.

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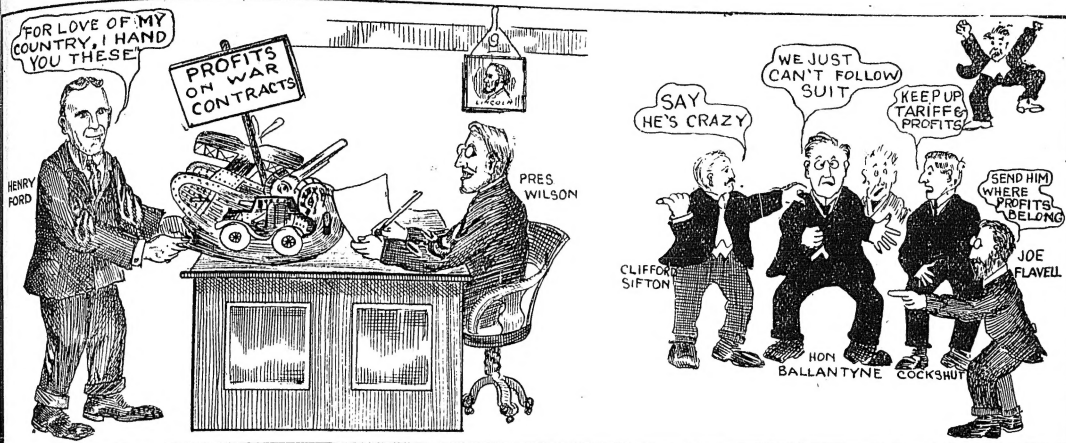
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# A NOTABLE EXAMPLE!!



Henry Ford when his country is forced to fight, proves to be a "true" patriot. Will the Canadian "fight-to-a-finish" manufacturers follow his example and forego their immense profits. If not, they are a menace to success and the Canadian people should use their power to order things as they wish.

## SAYINGS OF HENRY FORD

"I stand with our President, and in the event of a declaration of war will place our factory at the disposal of the United States Government and will operate without one cent of profit. I will also contribute my time and work harder than ever."

"I will take no profits from anything produced from any government during the war. I despise the profiteer who makes money out of war."

"I am going to keep the American flag flying on my plant until the war is over and then I am going to pull it down for good. I am going to hoist in its place the flag of all Nations which is being designed in my office right now."

"We must have peace even if we have to fight for it—and we are going to fight until we get peace. My attitude toward war has not changed a particle. My hatred for it is just as keen to-day as ever. I am more than ever convinced by what the whole world has gone through in the last few years that war is absolutely indefensible."

"There is one thing on which I do not agree with the President and army officials and that is there is so much secrecy about what we are doing. If the kaiser knew what is being done in this country right now to win this war he would be looking for an excuse to quit."

"To my notion we are not fighting Germany or the Germans. We are battling the junkers; and they must be done to the death, whether they are found in Germany or in the United States or anywhere else."

"It is all very well to have faith in the outcome—but unless that faith is accompanied by deeds it is futile. The prayer that gets answered promptly is the one backed up by work."

"The people have the power in their own hands to order things as they wish. That power is the voice, the pen, and greatest of all, the ballot."

## THE CROPS

Unfavorable weather has diminished appreciably but not seriously the crops in the United States. The August report issued by the Department of Agriculture in Ottawa shows a shrinkage of 262 million bushels in the corn yield and the heat and drought in July lowered the estimate of the wheat yield very considerably, though the total amount will reach over 800 million bushels.

In Ontario and the eastern provinces of Canada crops have matured hurriedly by reason of the weather. The harvest will be fair but owing to contraction of cultivation, the bulk will be below the average. The wheat yield in these provinces is not important. It will be fortunate if Ontario produces one-half of the amount required for home consumption and there is already difficulty about fall wheat for seed.

There is a bad state of affairs in the western Provinces. Hopes of a fair yield in the northern parts of the three provinces have been blasted by frosts on July 24th continuing to August 2nd. Estimates of reduction in crop values is made as much as 500 million dollars. The difficulties in financ-

ing the war will be so greatly increased that the government should reconsider its policy of stripping the land of labor for military service.—The Weekly Sun, Toronto.

## AN INDEPENDENT PRESS.

By John Swinton.

(Address given at a banquet of newspaper men in New York City.)

"There is no such thing in America as an independent press, unless it is in the country towns."

You know it and I know it. There is not one of you who dares write his honest opinion, and if you did you know beforehand that it would never appear in print.

I am paid \$150.00 a week for keeping my honest opinions out of the paper I am connected with—others of you are paid similar things—and any of you who would be so foolish as to write his honest opinions would be out on the streets looking for another job.

The business of the New York journalist is to destroy the truth, to lie outright, to pervert, to vilify, to fawn at the feet of

Mammon, and to sell his race and his country for his daily bread.

You know it and I know it, and what folly is this to be toasting an "independent press."

We are tools and vassals of rich men behind the scenes. We are the jumping-jacks; they pull the strings and we dance. Our talents, our possibilities and our lives are all the property of other men. We are intellectual prostitutes."

## GET BUSY!

A workers' movement without a paper to back it is doomed. A just cause with its own press must be successful. You can help your own movement by boosting your own paper. We are continually receiving letters of approval. Read a few of them on page 10. With your help THE ALBERTA NON-PARTISAN will be the best read paper in the Province. Many tell us they read every word of it and are then hungry for more. Find out if your neighbour gets it. Talk about it to your friends. Get their subs and send them in.

Read pages 13 and 14

# The Non Partisan Letter Box

Extracts from Letters we receive

## GETS THE TRUTH OF THINGS MUST COMBINE TO CRUSH THE KAISERS

"I like reading THE ALBERTA NON-PARTISAN, you get down to the truth of things. It's pretty near time too we had a change in our form of Government. It should be run by the people and not the people run by the Government. Your paper has progressed fine in so short a time and I will do all I can to help it along."

—S. G. TURNER,  
Innisfail.

## THE TRUST THAT OWNS THE OTHER TRUSTS

"Please find a dollar for year's subscription. If you will send to names given below—they also may subscribe. I am glad you are getting after the Money Trust, as that seems to me the trust that owns all the other trusts."

—C. EAST,  
Vermilion.

## HELPS IT ALONG

"Please find enclosed five dollars to send ALBERTA NON-PARTISAN to each of the following. I put in a word for your paper wherever possible."

—VIOLET McNAUGHTON,  
Harris P.O., Sask.  
(Ex-Pres. Sask. G. G. Women's Assoc.)

## A GREAT LITTLE PAPER

"Enclosed find one dollar for a year's subscription to your valuable paper. I have read a couple of copies, and think it is the greatest little paper in the West.

Yours very truly,  
—THEODORE SKARE,  
Gainford, Alta."

## MUCH APPRECIATED

"I enclose one dollar for subscription to THE NON-PARTISAN, the reading of which I enjoy very much.

With all good wishes,  
—NELLIE L. McCLUNG,  
Edmonton, Alta."

## WOULD LIKE A DAILY

"Enclosed find one dollar for renewal of your paper. I like it fine, and we should have a daily paper that supports the farmer and labor; as the only difference between the two is that one is driven by the boss, and the other is driven by necessity. So hasten the good work along.

Yours for the cause,  
W. N. VERNON,  
Craigmyle, Alta."

## GREETINGS FROM MONTANA

Send me your NON-PARTISAN paper for one year. Find order \$1.50 enclosed. Greetings from a Non-Partisan League farmer of Montana, U.S.A.

—H. FREDRICKSON,  
Opheim, Mont., U.S.A.

## EVERYBODY SHOULD READ IT

Enclosed find subscription for your valuable paper. I wish that everybody could read it.

—RICHARD VOSS,  
Wilkie, Sask.

There is nothing I could wish for more than to see an actually unmuzzled press, one that not only would write what we want to say, but one which did not make the most of all the tragedies and scandals of our misfit social life and would give prominence to the happenings we would wish to know of, and would spur us on to the goal of a right life—the kind of life I confidently expect to result from the winning of this war.

We must combine farmers and labor. It is capitalist camouflage that gets the farmer to think that he is not a wage slave, owned by his farm and exploiting himself and his family more effectively than could be done by any straw boss. It is on account of the nature of the exploitation that our organization and the U.F.A. is indispensable. Politically we have, and should be taught to see, all things in common, that our interests are in common, and that as "Allies"—and only as Allies—can we hope to crush the Kaiser, whether we call him Order-in-Council, meat trust, coal baron, railway magnate, political manipulator, grain exchange speculator, land monopolist or otherwise.

—D. F. BOISSEVAN,  
Strathmore.

## GETTING THEIR EYES OPENED

I send stamps to send me sample copies of your paper, also Non-Partisan literature. My father and my grandfather was a Conservative, and I was a Conservative, and we followed party politicians like sheep, until we got Union Government. Since then we have been like lost sheep. Tom Jones, who has returned from France, says thousands of the boys who were in the trenches, had their eyes closed, but he got his eyes opened now. Just wait till the boys come back.

Send us your paper, we want to know more about you.

—W. H. WILLISCRAFT,  
Battlebend, Alta.

## A LIVE LITTLE PAPER

Having moved from Alberta, I would still be glad to receive your live little paper.

—C. D. PRESTON,  
Pittsfield, Mass.

## CONSIDERED A NUISANCE

I give you to understand that I don't want nor ever have had any desire for your paper, and I consider you a nuisance in causing me to have to write you to stop sending it.

—R. E. GRISDALE,  
Okotoks, Alta.

## NO PAPERS ANY MORE

As for that little bull dozing paper, I want no more to do with it. I will stop it at the post office here if you cannot stop sending it. I take no more papers from no one.

—JOHN D. RICKS,  
Nateby, Alta.

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## THE NON PARTISAN MOVEMENT

By J. S Woodsworth

The Non-Partisan League is more than an organization. It is a movement. That is why I am interested in it. The organization may be far from perfect; the leaders admit it. The organization may need to change its form; many members of the League hope it will. But for these very reasons, whatever happens to the organization, the movement is destined to succeed.

Some time ago in Southern Alberta, a Non-Partisan organizer on approaching a farm-house discovered the owner on a ladder painting the house. As the farmer made no move to come down, the organizer had to begin his interview somewhat at disadvantage. "I represent the Non-Partisan League," he ventured. The farmer-painter put down his brush, scratched his head, and repeated slowly several times, "Non-Partisan League—Non-Partisan League—No Party League." Then he suddenly started down the ladder—"Wait," he exclaimed "I want to shake hands with you; I've been looking for you for years." He took the organizer into the house, signed up, and then spent the day helping to secure his neighbors as members.

This incident perhaps fairly represents the attitude of a great many farmers. They are tired of the old parties—disgusted with them—and they jump at anything that offer a prospect of an improvement. There is, of course, a danger here that the League should capitalize the discontent of the farmers, and yet be unable to fulfil the promises which the organizers—perhaps somewhat too freely—offer to the prospective members. Constant education and active participation in the affairs of the League by each member is the only road to permanent success.

It is perhaps unfortunate that the name should be negative in form. This was apparently necessary in the United States, where the mode of election makes it difficult to start a new party. Yet after all the name is not merely negative. The movement is primarily a revolt against the old line parties with all the evils of machine politics. This underlying idea must not be lost sight of. In reading the reports of the progress of the American movement, one wonders if there is not a danger of building up a new machine—a farmers' party, it may be, but one in which local democratic control is subordinated to the necessities of winning an election. Quick results may be secured at too great a cost. Democracy is dependent upon an educated active electorate.

"You give us \$15 and we'll do the rest," might conceivably result in the election of a provincial assembly pledged to further the interests of the farmers. But farmers who are willing to pay someone else to do their thinking and, generally, to assume their political responsibilities, would not constitute the basis of a safe democracy. There must be local organization maintaining an all-year-round propaganda.

This the leaders of the League feel strongly. Mrs McKinney in discussing this question put it something like this: "One could easily carry the Convention on almost any subject—but we don't want to 'carry the convention.'—we must have people think these things out for themselves. Only then are we safe."

The organization began as a farmers' organization. That was about the only way it could begin. But it would mean much if in the near future it could, in some way, be broadened to take into its membership the labor people of the city and the progressive business and professional people of the towns. After all, the fight is not between farmers and business men, but between workers and exploiters. The British Labor Party is now organized to include all workers by hand or by brain who are in sympathy with the aims of the Party. In Canada only a united democracy will overthrow the securely entrenched interests.

That raises the whole question of constructing a platform that will appeal to these various classes. The farmers as a class are quite in favor of government ownership of railroads but would fight shy of certain legislation with regard to agricultural laborers or any reconstruction which might seem to imperil their own interests. But after all these difficulties are not insurmountable. If the farmer "got what was coming to him" he would not begrudge the laborer in turn getting what was coming to him—as to getting access to the land for himself and his children, the farmer, who has studied economics and history, knows that the surest way is by doing away with special privilege. If the farmer could retain the value of what he produced, he would not require the gains now secured through enhanced real estate values. The true sociologist aims not to take away a man's home or living, but to make possible a home and a living for all.

To take in others than farmers, the financial affairs of the League would need to be re-organized. But this will in any case probably be found necessary. The present fee is obviously insufficient to maintain the League on a permanent basis. Preliminary organization is expensive and little would be left for carrying forward the educational work for a number of years or providing for future election expenses.

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The situation is rendered acute when there comes a partial crop failure as is the case this year. It would seem that with the present membership the next convention would be in a position to effect a more complete and permanent organization.

Ideally this might have been arranged at first. But the future development of the League could not be carefully worked out in advance. It is, as I have said, a movement. Like most movements, it is more or less blundering, blind, instinctive and chaotic. But it is a movement or a part of a movement. The leaders don't profess special political or business ability. They confess that they're "new on the job." But they're on the job just the same. They are out to learn, willing to modify, but they know which way they are heading. And the members—most of them—are not expecting impossibilities. They believe those responsible for the guidance of the League are sincere and that they wouldn't do it better themselves.

"Something's got to be done. We'll give this way a try anyway." That's what I call a movement and that is why some organization along the lines of the League is bound to succeed.

J. S. Woodsworth.

## "Labor's Great Day"

A MESSAGE TO THE WORKERS

By F. J. Dixon, M.L.A. for Centre Winnipeg



Once more Labor Day comes to remind us that the day of the laborer is not yet. A Japanese statesman says this great war marks the end of European civilization. We ask which end? No doubt the remark meant the finish but we prefer to think that the great war

will mark the beginning of a real civilization. For, the war itself proves that we have not been properly civilized, that is, reclaimed from a savage state. There are those who yet think that after the war we shall drop meekly back into that state of life unto which, the masters tell us, it had pleased God to call us, namely, a condition of servile submission to economic exploitation. The wish is the father of the thought. But "of no use are the men who study to do exactly as was done before, who can never understand that to-day is a new day." I like to think we are nearing the end of an imperfect day and that the lurid glow on the horizon is the red night that presages the shepherd's delight on the morning. For to-morrow must be the day of the laborer. The workers of the world are learning a sharp and severe lesson—a lesson that never again must the world be dominated by a master class.

The British Labor Party has formulated a program of reconstruction which predicates that the old order of society must change, giving place to the new. In the new society an injury to the humblest member of the community will be considered an injury to all. There must be no more of "every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost." Duty and self-interest must coincide. We can never get justice for ourselves until society sees to it that every other member is given justice.

There are those who will oppose the new order—those who profit from injustice and who will follow the dictates of their bank rolls. When it is proposed to abolish profiteering the captains of industry, the money kings, and the landlords will cry with a loud voice saying: "Long live Diana of the Ephesians!" By their crafts they have their wealth and they fully realize that when the means whereby they live is taken—that life of luxury and ease that has become so dear to them is also taken. But the dignity of labor demands that only they who do the work of the world shall enjoy the wealth of the world. Nothing is too good for those who produce all.

How the British Labor Party proposes to establish a new social order is set out in profuse detail in a lengthy program. To give it in brief, steps are to be taken to ensure that every person in the nation shall be assured sufficient of the means of life. Industries are to be placed under democratic control of those engaged in them. It is proposed that all Military Service Acts which restrict the liberty of individuals shall be repealed at the earliest possible moment. That land, railways, electric power plants, etc., shall be nationalized. That the basis of taxation shall be changed so that it will fall directly and heavily upon profits, incomes, and land

values. That there shall be conscription of wealth, in the form of a direct levy, to pay off the war debt. That any surplus revenue shall be used for the common good. That there shall be no "economic war after the war." And that there shall be established as part of the peace treaty which will end this war, a universal league or society of nations.

Verily an ambitious program but one worthy of the support of the workers the world over. Let us in Canada clarify our aims by comparison with the British Labor Party's program. Let us unite on one common platform and press on to the goal.

### "LABOR'S GREAT DAY"

Dr. Bland preached to a great congregation in Winnipeg's Labor Church on Labor Sunday. Taking the text, "He has put down the mighty from their seats and hath exalted them of low degree," the speaker claimed this message was especially fitting for to-day. The workers of the world for ages had been in a swampy valley, beset with pestilential vapors, but to-day they are on the hill-top, not the last or the highest, but they are on the way onward, forward and upward. For to-day the workers have caught sight of the sea, and its great day is at hand.

Reviewing events in Britain, The United States and in Canada, Dr. Bland stated the evolution of public opinion during the past summer in Canada had been very rapid and remarkable. There had been recently some significant happenings in its industrial life and history was being rapidly made. We are in the beginning of a new age. Labor is coming to its own and to its throne. He ventured to utter a prayer for Labor in the coming mysterious days. Labor must be strong and its strength must be in organization. For only through organization can the workers throw off their chains. The worker, in whatever sphere, must be loyal and stand by his fellows. The worker must do some hard thinking. Problems cannot be solved by brute force, but by intelligent thought. The workers are to-day thinking as are no other class, but they must think still more. If lamentable mistakes were to be avoided in the day of stress and transformation wise leadership was necessary. There must be no narrow spirit of oppression.

Labor must be tolerant and be broad enough to take in all classes of the workers. Votes count, hence the necessity of forming alliances with other organizations. The most necessary co-operation is that between the industrial worker of the city and the organized farmers. Their interests were identical, alliance must come with these two great bodies. Canadian Labor must broaden out along lines similar to British Labor. When a person is doing something—not skinning people—then Labor may seek an alliance. Let it take in the teachers, the farmers and others. The passion for justice is speaking through many realms and advantage must be taken of this to gain speedy victory.

The supreme thing was for labor to be big, brotherly, generous, in the day of its victory. In the past what had been strong had been tyrannical. The church and the Government in the past had been intolerant. Shall Labor be intolerant too, or shall it be generous? May Labor

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in its hour of triumph use its power generously for the whole of humanity. It must do what no other class has done. It will need patience and self-control but if labor exercises this then there is a greater opportunity in the near future than the past has ever seen.

Be considerate, never despotic, never controlled by revenge. Our oppressors are but the victims of the system as well as personal wrong-doers. Generous treatment will help in their case better than oppression. The human heart at bottom is really good and our hatred should be for conditions that in the past have made men oppressors. Let us carry through the next ten years an unshakable faith in mankind. Let us get the poison out of human hearts and the spirit of comradeship in its place. Let Labor be equal to its great day.

# LIFE AND WORK

## LABOR AND THE ECONOMIC PROBLEM

"Labor omnia vincit" is a motto which most people hope to see consummated in the near future. The civilized world is fast approaching what may be the greatest struggle in the history of capitalism, and what may be the final fight between the opposing forces of capital and labor. What the nature of the struggle will be depends largely on the vision of the capitalist, and the intelligence of the worker.

"Repent for the Kingdom of Labor is at hand" is the message of one of our modern prophets. If the present owners of industry would repent by handing over to the state the privileges they unrighteously enjoy, it is possible that a serious upheaval might be averted in our industrial life. But as this is not likely, the only other alternative is for labor to continue its struggle both in the political and industrial field until success crowns its efforts.

The new social order under a labor regime might possibly be made more attractive to the capitalist by the agitators. It ought to be made plain that the exploiter of labor has nothing to lose by the advent of justice. True he will lose the right to monopolize, to graft, and to make slaves out of men but he might devoutly wish for, rather than be afraid of such a condition. The modern employer of labor is in the competitive struggle with others of his ilk and is forced to play a game which cannot be enjoyed by any person with any imagination. If the truth was made plain perhaps the masters would welcome the change which labor seeks to bring about.

An understanding might be brought about on the grounds that both are forced to fight through a system which neither is actually responsible for bringing about, and that in as much as the system which consists of private ownership and exploitation is responsible for class conflict it ought to be abolished and substituted by public ownership and co-operation. But as things are, the wealth owners will fight for the continuation of the system which allows them to own wealth that they did not produce, and the worker who works for another, receiving in return only a part of what he actually produced will fight to abolish the conditions which keep him in a position of civilized slavery.

The problem in Canada has not yet become sufficiently acute to force

a solution. Labor has not awakened so far to the magnitude of the task, nor to the possibilities of the immediate future in relation to its task. We are hoping that the influence of British labor projects, together with the strenuous times ahead as a result of the war will awaken Canadian labor to greater activity.

Labor Unionism in Canada is purely an industrial organization, having for its immediate aim the maintenance of the wage standard. As such it has accomplished great things. The fruits of its efforts may be seen in a higher standard of living for all workers; in the improved conditions of labor; and in shorter hours. It has also paved the way for a movement at once more fundamental and comprehensive than it is in itself by the education which it has brought in its train.

In noting the above benefits, derived from organized labor, and in recognizing it as a necessary movement, which will continue to function as a means of adaptation to conditions as long as the system which gave it birth continues, we have said all. It is not and does not claim to be a solution of the economic evil.

The day is coming when even employers of labor will encourage workmen to strike, for a raise in wages will be an excuse for increasing the price of the commodity produced and an opportunity thereby given for higher profits. When the railway workers in Canada threatened to strike for an increase some time ago the wages were paid but freight was increased much more than necessary to cover the increase; when the miners struck for more pay they got it, but the owners added far more than the miners' increase to the cost of coal to the consumer. That the owners' profit must be maintained as well as the wage standard is the position of the exploiter of labor, so the burden is passed on to other workers when wages are raised, and we continue to struggle in a vicious circle while the profiteer continues to maintain his profit standard.

It is obvious from the foregoing that the problem is more fundamental than that which comes within the scope of an industrial organization. Political action with a view to affecting a change in economic conditions is the next immediate step to be taken by labor in Canada.

In taking such a step labor must take a wider view. It must not interpret "Labor" in the narrow sense commonly held in industrial organizations. The distinction be-

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tween capital and labor cannot be expressed by the term "Labor", used in the narrow sense, for the most successful capitalist may work harder than the poorest slave. The real distinction lies in the fact that the "worker" works for **some one else**, while the capitalist not only works for himself, but reaps the benefit of the labor of others.

The Canadian Labor Party when it comes can hope to be successful in politics only when it adopts the methods now arrived at by the Labor Party of Great Britain. All should be allowed to join the Canadian Labor Party who are opposed to the principle of one man working for another, and who believe that service should be the end of all industry.



## The Birth of the English Drama

By Angus Lyell

Twice in history has the drama been the ally of religion, and twice has it been cast off by the church. But the dramatic instinct has never been rooted out.

The drama started in Greece and thence went to Rome, where the Christians denounced it, considering its influence evil. The classical drama then died down and did not appear again until the sixteenth century, when it was fated to have its rebirth in religion.

On festival days and at Easter, biblical scenes began to be shown, sometimes accompanied by song, gesture and dialogue. The church strove, in this way, to satisfy the deep rooted dramatic instinct of the people. **Mystery Plays**, taken from the Bible, and **Miracle Plays**, taken from the lives of saints, were produced. **Miracle Plays** were unknown in England before the Norman Conquest, the first one dating from the year 1100. They were written in Latin, and some considerable time elapsed before the tongue of the common people was used. At first, the churches were the theatres and the priests the actors; but when the national language took the place of Latin, the theatre was removed from the church to the churchyard and the priests ceased to act.

It was about the end of the thirteenth century that the plays came into the hands of the laity. They were taken up chiefly by the Trade Gilds. On a church holiday, for example, a whole series of sacred songs would be acted each gild taking up one scene. The method adopted was this. The stage was put upon wheels and drawn by horses, and the play moved from street to street in the form of a procession. The spectators had only to stand in one place and the whole pageant would pass before them.

These plays became very popular; and handling as they did large portions of the Bible, they must have been very effective in teaching the "Great Untaught." At any rate, they kept alive the love for acting. They were performed in all the large towns. Some towns had particular "sets" of their own, each set containing a number of plays. York had a series of forty-eight plays; Coventry, forty-two; Chester, twenty-five; and so on. From the middle of the fourteenth to the end of the fifteenth century was, indeed, the golden era of miracle worship.

But in course of time, allegorical characters, such as Contemplation, Truth, Mercy, Justice and Peace, were introduced, and these gave rise to a new phase of the drama, that known as **The Morality**.

The theme now, instead of being a Bible story, was the struggle between Good and Evil, for the possession of the Soul of Man, and the play now took place at one spot—the village green. A good example of this kind of play is **The Castle of Perseverance**.

Soon, however, the drama underwent another change. Short plays, termed **Interludes**, were introduced. These were about one thousand lines in length. They were sometimes comical and sometimes satirical, but they were acted by real persons instead of allegorical figures. This was an entirely new feature. The old drama was nearing the modern.

The chief writer of the **Interlude** period was John Heywood, who lived in the reign of Henry the Eighth and Mary. But the **Miracles** lingered in to the beginning of seventeenth century and were actually performed alongside **Hamlet**.

Such was the state of the drama in England at the time of the Revival of Learning. The classical drama held strongly to the three unities of time, place and plot. In other words, all the events of the play must happen within twenty-four hours, the scene must not be changed, and the story must be one. The tragic and the comic elements were strictly kept apart. The actors were few, and there was much more speaking than acting, and there was also the chorus to keep the audience posted up in the business. An attempt was made to model the English drama after the Roman, but it met with little success.

But about the year 1580 there appeared a group of men, known as the **University Writers**, who paved the way for the genius of Shakespeare. These were Kyd, Lyley, Greene, Lodge and Marlowe. They were mostly young men who went up to London after leaving the University, and plunged into the wild life there, but kept their pens busy in producing new tragedies and comedies for the stage. Being scholars, they took their plots chiefly from classical myths and legends although they were learning to shake themselves free from the trammels of the ancient world. They were reaching out to something more romantic and natural. They were mastering the use of blank verse in tragedy.

The most brilliant of the group was Christopher Marlowe. He was born in the same year as Shakespeare, in 1562, and was fatally stabbed in a tavern brawl before he had reached the age of thirty, yet he showed great promise of the grand age that was to follow. It is true he lacked the supreme quality of humour, but he shows in all his plays a tragic grandeur that has seldom been equalled. His heroes are beings of boundless desires, his style is remarkable for its high sounding pomp, although it often degenerates into bombast. But never before had blank verse been used with such effect.

Marlowe's play **Doctor Faustus** deserves special mention not only because it was a product of the new learning but because Goethe took its plot and changed it into his grand play—**Faust**.

Marlowe's work is far ahead of any other dramatist of the time. But of the main facts of Marlowe's life we know nothing. Yet the world branded him as an atheist, profane and dissolute, though he ought to be the last to be so branded. Between the true poet and the world there is an eternal feud. And there is something in Marlowe that puts the world to shame.

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# A LETTER FROM HOME

## Soldiers and Daisies

One of the most amazing things in this amazing war is the tremendous gratitude shown by the boys for the tiniest attentions of ours. Since the earliest days of the war in 1914 when my kitchen was full of tired strapping Tommies with their feet in tubs of hot water, and clean towels and boracic powder to prevent further blisters, they have kept right on thanking me and everybody else who lifted the slightest little finger to help, just as though they selves were doing nothing and all the kindnesses were on our side. Every week I get letters which simply spell "gratitude," so expressive of how they will relish the country lanes of old England when they get back again. Some even say they will eat the very daisies in our meadows when they come home again.

But will they? That's the point. How many meadows will be theirs to grow daisies in? How much of this England will be theirs after they have fought and bled and died for it?

## What the Vicar Says

As a sheltered and protected woman, I come upon all sorts of pleasing things in most unexpected places. Under an old yew tree in an old vicarage garden close by an old church in an old village that I love, a by no means old vicar lent me a book written by another clergyman, "As Tommy Sees Us." "Take that home and read it," said he, "and you will see that even you haven't all the monopoly of feeling what's to be done for Tommy."

That was yesterday, and I have not had time to read the book through yet, but this little bit from its opening pages is good enough to give to others:—

"Tommy will come back having suffered untold things for his country, and he will have a sense that his country owes him more than it did in the old days. He will come back knowing that if he had not suffered and if thousands of his kind had not died, there could have been no security for and or capital or any home investments. The property classes have done nobly in this war. . . But by themselves they could not have saved either their property or their land. The thousands of men who existed as wage-earners near the margin of existence before the war, and who toiled in the ranks through the war, will still be able to say: "In their days of need the favoured few would have been helpless without us." They will therefore look with new eyes on a system that leaves the country empty while the millions stew in smoke-drenched cities, that condemns men of intellect and capacity to the status of mere wage-earners with no security and

no control over their own work—that allows the fruits of civilization to be the reward of the few—that has never yet grappled in earnest with slums or public-houses or sweating, or the hundred other shames of our civilization."

And isn't this what we have preached from our first number. When our men come back, yes—they will want some daisies.

## Queen Mary's and John Hodge's little plan

In France, after the Napoleonic wars of a hundred years ago, a scheme was started with some success, to give every wounded soldier a cottage and some land, and to put these a mile apart on the high roads to act as mile stones. I do not think they had much land and in my travels in France I never saw one of those soldier's cottages. But even a plan like that would appeal more to our soldiers' sense of justice than Mr. John Hodge's notion of a shop. This minister of pensions and the Queen between them have raised already something over "a million pounds" to set up our soldiers in shops when they come back, in "little businesses of their own" they so prettily express it.

Our soldiers, mind you, who have fought together at the front, standing side by side, shielding, cornering, carrying, and helping one another in every way possible. Do Mr. Hodge and the Queen really expect them to come back and count it an ideal life to turn round and begin to fight one another at home, as all shopkeepers must, in our miserable competitive system? I can fancy them being perfectly miserable in those little shops and hating them like hell, and I would like the Queen and John Hodge to tell us how they can expect them to be happy. There must be no return to the old miserable existence. I trust not!

—JULIA D.

\* \* \*

The United States Government now takes action to control its stockyards and packing plants. Yet when Upton Sinclair wrote "The Jungle" wherein it was first advocated it was then considered to be a "Dream" of a Socialist.

\* \* \*

Read "Labor's Great Day" page 13.

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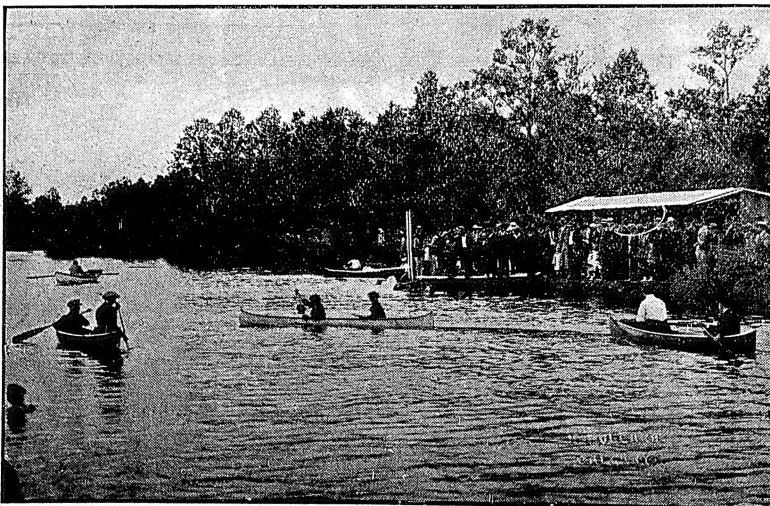
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